/11 cont./

133 diverging from the same water-tower, the massif of the Tichka (1).

1. Cf. our study on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 363. The first to have underlined the importance of this mole of history, of pastoral economy, and of tribal sociology is R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 16.

an important historic site, and which, with its enormous granite mole, forms a buffer to the Seksawa country toward the S. With the neighboring peaks rising to 3,000 and 3,400 meters high, a ressaut of approximately a thousand meters gives rise to the old massif above the Permo-Triassic depression and the subtabular zone of the W. It is the first barrier against the winds of the [132] Atlantic, hence a heavy condensation of the clouds coming generally from the S.-W. It is also, when one comes from the E., the last affirmation of high mountains. After that, one will find only the causses, the Mtugga and H'âh'a hills.

The Seksawa, the Nffis, the assif el-Mâl, and two of the larger tributaries of the Issen come directly from the Tichka. The other tributaries of the Issen, several tributaries of the Sous flow from the South versant of the axial chain. All these sources mark a distance of at least 30 km. Hence there is an important hydrogeographical center there, hence a sedentary culture, hence a historical constancy. This role of the Tichka, or more exactly of the ridge that it flanks, has been perceived by Mussulman authors. Ibn Khaldûn mentioned it in a passage in which the precise correspondences preserve the metaphorism. The marabout of Tasaft is even more precise. He compares these fluvial basins, hanging on the crest, to goatskin bottles, the high cantons of which are the feet. The Tichka, he said, is "the balance of the waters,"

133 /20 cont./ As in all mountain
societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction
[192] between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/
and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/,
annammer and amalu. Another influence of the relief: from a
[132] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Sa-
[137] haran sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is
"a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts"
(2).

2. R. Maire, op. cit., p. 10.

182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /21/ different preciseness.
132 Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of
133 the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a rela-
[137] tive mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors
to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them
closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits
of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen-
[182] Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Sek-
sawa domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

137 Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree,
245 which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending
upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as
far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree,
whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

/29 cont./

361
342
[113]

/footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

361
[161]

Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

[133]
[132]

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 101 634 [619] Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif, leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six [132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them. And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I. [221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og, [233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Bessebᶜ Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of [137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Âli, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid [178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus- [172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[176] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
175 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
726 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
619 driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that /52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Be-
[132] tween the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
[172] half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

/143 cont./

171 Will it be geographical confusion, or false and paradoxical historical assimilation, to refer to this description before passing on
132 to that of the Haut-Atlas? Let us follow J. Baradez when he rejects as a fundamental norm of the irrigation economy the question of isohyets. On the one hand, in fact, nothing, in the present state, gives us with enough precision the amount of the precipitation in the mountains. All that one can say is that it must be much more abundant than in /144/ the Dir, at Imintanout. And nevertheless this is not the case for Taddert, in Haut Dwiran, where measurements have been made, in a domain contiguous to the Seksawa (1).

1. J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous /Studies on the evolution of the relief in the central massif of the Great Atlas, the Haouz, and the Sous/, 1941, pp. 571 sq.

The astonishing ecological variety of this face of the Atlas is bound to teach prudence on this point. The compartmentalization sometimes extends down to the ground, to the "recess." In the plain itself, it is indeed less the quantity of water than its distribution in the course of the campaign that prevails. Generally, the amount of 250 to 300 mm., theoretically necessary for the dry cultivation of cereals, is certainly found on the high terrains where the albur cultivations of the Seksawa are scattered. But even there other factors intervene: snowfall for example,
133 hygrometry, ventilation, exposure. On the other hand, in the valley economy, it is the use of streaming waters that counts, even more fully than that of source waters.

The latter play a role in the dry season. But their contribution remains out of comparison with that of the flood that enormous collectors carry along, in discontinuous fashion in summer, continuous from October to April: the river bed, its tributaries, and all the ravines that flow there. The sources, and especially

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 233 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm, and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 221 [361] [184] From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters, one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder, mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 311 [243] [132] If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing, 311 [103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umliln, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naâtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

/9 cont./

•132 IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- Of all the geographic factors that dominate life in the Moroccan South, the one that regulates human existence most strictly is the climate. In the vicinity of the Sahara, [133] under the rays of an almost tropical sun, the existence of strong relief in a region where the summits sometimes exceed 4,000 meters is not enough to spare the Sous from the heat of a sky that the clouds too rarely come to veil.

If one disregards for a moment modifications occasioned by the altitude of the summits of the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the distribution of meteoric waters in the plains of the South obeys simple rules. As in the whole of Morocco, there are two periods of rain here, one in October and November, the other one in February and March. Moreover, these two seasons are sometimes confused because of precipitation that occasionally comes in the course of the intermediate months of winter; but during the summer months the atmosphere nearly always remains calm.

It is to the influence of the great depressions of the western Atlantic that the Sous owes the advantage of a relative humidity at a latitude where in the rest of North Africa one sees only desert territories spread out. But in spite of the proximity of the Ocean, the average annual rainfall remains poor. It reaches 30 centimeters on the coast, then diminishes somewhat in the interior, in the country of the middle course of the Tensift and the Sous; /10/ farther on it increases afresh somewhat, then again becomes poorer toward the steppes of the Dra, where it is below 20 centimeters.

These rains, insufficient to make a lasting vegetation live, are in addition irregular. It sometimes happens that the fine [241] weather persists during the whole autumn, so that tillage remains impossible. At other times the wheat, sown and sprouted during the last months of the year, dries out in the spring because the water, waited for with anxiety in the month of March, arrives too [133] late or in too small an amount. In some years the wadis grow large in a day following heavy downpours, and all communications,

/10 cont./

132 usually so easy in the plains, are cut off by the smallest gullies.
[133] In other winters, on the contrary, the cisterns remain empty and the atmosphere retains a pitiless limpidity from October to
132 March. The importance of annual variations in the total rain-
241 fall is such, and the distribution of rain so capricious, that outside of valleys fertilized by springs or the water from mountain torrents one cannot expect to obtain good harvests more than
[731] one time out of five. Every five years, every ten years at the most, several bad harvests follow one another and give rise to famine. When finally it happens that the cisterns have not been filled and the springs are drying up, men and flocks must abandon their territory for several months. So one sees each family try to acquire, in the vicinity of the séguias /conduits for supplying and distributing water/ descending from the mountains, a few tiny fields, cultivated with care, abundantly manured, whose three small annual harvests, always certain, will at least permit escaping the famine.

132 The Sous, not very favorable for the development of a sed-
233 entary life because of the irregularity and insufficiency of rain, nevertheless does not offer the nomads the vast open spaces necessary for their flocks. A forest thinly sown with argan trees covers part of the plains and hills near the Atlantic, and the stretches free for the course of the tribes are too small for pastoralists. The wandering peoples coming from the desert, who have invaded the valleys several times in the course of history, have not been able to stay there and preserve the nomadic life. Rebuffed by the sedentary people settled in the vicinity of the springs and séguias and whose cultivated lands extend all around or diminish, according to whether the year seems propitious or unfavorable to them, they have scattered /11/ or have adapted to the precarious life of the agriculturalists of the Sous.

132 V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the moun-
133 tains. -- The obstacle furnished by the mountains to the winds from the Atlantic, loaded with the greatly desired rain, changes noticeably the regularity of the climate. The two great parallel

/12 cont./

•132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Aït Semmeg and the Oneîn, take
133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
241 always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

133 The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the
361 most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
241 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Demnate/, Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tisgin, Imi n
[245] Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguias.
[443] Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Aït Semmeg, Talekjont and Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou Gwallal, and of Bou L'ajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat reduce the flow from the springs and séguias and narrowly delimit the development of the cultivated land.

133 The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are completely different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnidif, one readily finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.
[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to the north of the Sous valley.

311 /14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
241 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
166 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
[132] still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[731] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[727] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further accelerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[101] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[144] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[179] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

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137
132

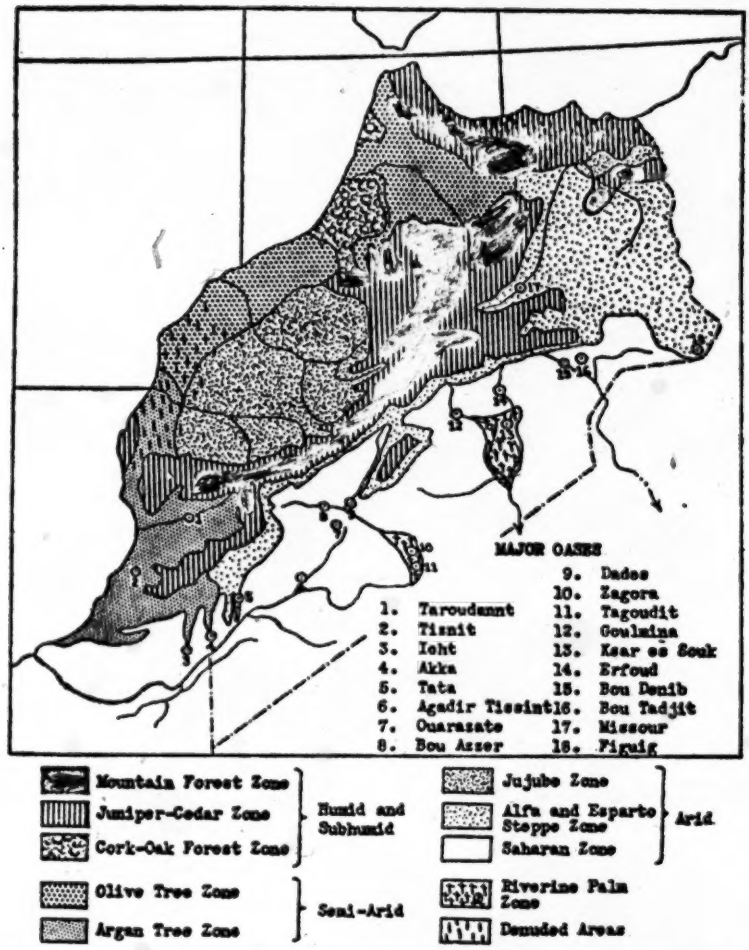

Fig. 2. Life-Zones of Morocco. Revised from Grandidier (1943, Map V) and Joly (1948, Fig. 28).

storehouses (*tighremt* or *agadir*). The pattern[1] varies considerably, however, depending upon the local environmental conditions. In the high mountains, specifically in the juniper-cedar and mountain forest life zones, where relatively low temperatures and high rainfall occur, such groups as the Seksqoua (see No. 559, map: *Tribes of Morocco*), Mesfious (594), Ait Quaouzouit (626-645), Ida ou

000
241
101
132

[1], [i.e., the agricultural pattern--Analyst]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agricul-
[101] ture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irriga-
[132] tion and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower moun-
tains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all culti-
vated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher moun-
tains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats,
which are tended by the women and children. In the high moun-
tains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see
below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among
the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired
shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of fami-
lies may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder
staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
[221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because
of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19
26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns
Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83,
fig. 40; Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20;
Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22;
Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh be-
241 comes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The
argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouira (Mogador)
and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consist-
[101] ing of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered
with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (530-
541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with
difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system,
is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute
the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree,
whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes
along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is
generally not sufficient to permit this else-
where.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first